

THE BLACK PANTHER

25
cents

Black Community News Service



VOLUME II, NO. 21

SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 7, 1969

PUBLISHED
WEEKLY

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

MINISTRY OF INFORMATION
BOX 2967, COLUMB HOSP
SAN FRANCISCO, CA 94126

PANTHERS DEMAND JUSTICE



Adaptation by EMORY

Original by Medaka

MORE STORIES ON ASSASSINATION



Fund Raising Birthday Benefit for HUEY P NEWTON

BY THE NEWTON-CLEAVER DEFENSE COMMITTEE

Sunday, Feb. 16, Berkeley Community Theatre

BERKELEY HIGH SCHOOL AT 7.00 PM
GROVE & ALLSTON WAY

HUEY AND HISTORY

BY

Frank B. Jones

Deputy Minister of Information

Although white supremacist historians have attempted to establish that black people in the South were happy and contented slaves, we have historical evidence that such was not the case. As a matter of fact, there were more than 200 slave rebellions and conspiracies in the United States prior to the Civil War. The first revolt resulted in black men becoming the first permanent settlers - other than the Indians - in the United States. This slave revolt occurred in a Spanish colony in 1536. The Spaniards left the rebellious colony, returned to Haiti, and left the black men who had revolted in the United States.

Even today these revisionist historians are attempting to malign the intentions and motivations of the leaders of the black revolts. These historians and writers of historical novels are stating or implying that black men revolted because they were mentally deranged, religious fanatics, revolutionary opportunists, etc. These historians refuse to admit that many black men fought in opposition to slavery in face of almost insurmountable odds because they loved their people and sought justice and equality.

Black men possess a quality that is evidently alien to the white supremacist historians. A quality that is rare in establishment oriented societies - an unfailing tenacity to resist injustices. Black men cannot resolve themselves to an inferior status. True black men will fight injustice as long as it exists and will employ and all means necessary to destroy it. It was this characteristic that prompted many

black men to fight the injustices of slavery.

Gabriel Prosser, Denmark Vesey, Nat Turner, and company all fought to end the monstrous system of de jure slavery that existed in the United States. After slavery was declared illegal, black men continued to resist the injustices of de facto slavery. Men like Marcus Garvey, Malcolm X, and Martin Luther King opposed the degrading system of de facto slavery. They realized that there are two Americas - one of principle and one of practice. They were also aware that the America of principle is only a facade for the America of practice. In practice America is a materialistic, class-conscious, racist, hypocritical country; but these qualities are hidden behind the written and spoken principles of the Declaration of Independence, the Pledge of Allegiance, the Constitution, and the Lord's Prayer. America does not practice what it preaches.

Today we have another black man who has dedicated himself to the fight against injustice. A man who wants to apply the principles of America and not just preach them. A man who wants the principles of America applied to all people instead of just a select few. A man who has chosen a section of the Declaration of Independence as the philosophical basis for his activities. A man who wants to make the gun subject to the people instead of making the people subject to the gun. A man who practices what he preaches. Today we have Huey P. Newton.

Huey P. Newton has chosen to join the ranks of the black freedom fighters and to continue their pressed black masses. Huey possesses characteristics that are similar to both de jure and de facto slavery freedom fighters. Of

the de facto slavery freedom fighters he is more nearly aligned to Malcolm X - both decided that force is an effective means of resisting violent people and/or policemen. Huey resembles Denmark Vesey of the de jure slavery era because like Denmark, Huey realized the need for organization. Most of us are aware of the biographical facts concerning Malcolm X, so now let us review the parallels that exist between Denmark Vesey and Huey P. Newton.

Huey attended Merritt College and completed one year of law school. He could have remained in law school and upon graduation entered the world of self-deception of the black bourgeoisie. Huey could not accept that role. He could not seek personal gain while his black brothers remained oppressed. He valued freedom for his people more than he valued any personal aggrandizement. Huey realized that the laws he was studying were not applied to black people with the same equality that they are applied to whites. The laws are used to regulate white people and to restrict black people. There is no equality under the law in America. Huey organized the Black Panther Party.

Denmark Vesey purchased his freedom after winning a lottery. He accumulated money and property and gained the respect of both blacks and whites. He personally stated that he was willing to risk his personal comfort in an effort to free his black brothers. When an opportunity arose for Denmark to go to Africa, he refused it saying he wanted to stay in America and see what he could do for his fellow creatures. Denmark Vesey started an organization whose purpose was to liberate the slaves of Charleston, S.C.

Huey Newton realized that an

organization can be no stronger than its members, so he chose men who were dedicated to the black liberation movement. The chairman of the Black Panther Party, Bobby Seale, exemplifies the type of men that Huey wants for the Black Panther Party. Bobby has held many decent paying jobs, but he could not be bought off in his attempt to help his black brothers. Bobby joined with Huey and has remained faithful to the cause in spite of Huey's imprisonment and constant threats against Bobby's life. The threats of death have only served to strengthen Bobby's resolve.

Denmark Vesey chose Peter Poyas as his chief assistant. Peter Poyas has been described as a man with ice water in his veins - one of the coolest operators ever. When a weakling Uncle Tom exposed Vesey's plot to capture Charleston, Peter was picked up and questioned, but remained so cool that he was released. Later when more weaklings implicated him, Peter who was condemned to death told a companion who had started to yield to pain to "Die like a man." A word from Peter was enough; his companion ceased to complain. At his execution Peter told his fellow revolutionists when they were asked for additional information, "Do not open your lips. Die silent as you shall see me do." A cool operator indeed.

Huey realized that only activity can revolutionize a system. Talk is not enough. Huey, Bobby, and Lil' Bobby Hinton started their shotgun patrols to discourage police brutality in the ghetto. This effort was very successful in accomplishing its goal, but it turned the pent up sadism of the police department onto the Panthers. The police continued to harass Huey and the Panthers until the shooting

incident that resulted in Huey's being imprisoned. Even the incarceration of Huey did not satisfy the police as it witnessed by the continued harassment of the Panthers.

Denmark Vesey organized his black brothers in and around the city of Charleston and was preparing to take control of the city, but an Uncle Tom house servant heard about Denmark's plan and spread the word to the white slaveowners. Even with the knowledge of Denmark's organization, the slaveowners had a difficult time trying to determine who the leaders were. Denmark's associates were so strong that most of the information upon capture. A few who were too weak to endure the intensive interrogation finally implicated Denmark Vesey. Denmark along with 31 of his associates were tried and executed, but his organization was so strong and secretive that the slaveowners admitted that they were not sure that all members had been captured. The slaveowners also admitted that Denmark would have succeeded in taking the city if the Uncle Tom servant had not informed on him.

Gabriel Prosser fought slavery and was executed. Denmark Vesey fought slavery and was executed. Nat Turner fought slavery and was executed. In each case black people did nothing to aid the men who had fought for freedom. Marcus Garvey fought oppression and was jailed. Malcolm X fought oppression and was assassinated. Martin Luther King fought oppression and was assassinated. Black people did nothing. Huey P. Newton fought oppression and has been jailed. But Huey P. Newton can still succeed in his efforts to liberate black people if black people will give support to his efforts.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

Exposes Karenga

Black Enigma

A West Coast Militant Talks Tough

Ron Karenga of Los Angeles
Seen Using Fear of Violence
To Build Political Power

A Meeting With Gov. Reagan



By Byron E. Calame
Reporter for The Wall Street Journal

LOS ANGELES.—Four years ago, mild-mannered Ronald Everett, the fourteenth child in a family of a poor Baptist minister, seemed well on his way to a comfortable place in the growing Negro middle class.

He had just earned a master's degree in political science from the University of California at Los Angeles, and earlier he had been the first Negro to be elected student body president at a junior college here.

But then Mr. Everett dropped his "slave name" and became one of the most militant black nationalists in America. Today, he's Ron Karenga (a Swahili word meaning "keeper of the tradition"), the leader of a tough-minded organization called US (as opposed to "them") that he founded in 1966. From a black desk in a black-appointed office in a one-story black building here, he talks of "violent revolution" and urges Negroes to create their own distinctive black nation with its own distinctive Afro-American culture.

Charismatic and articulate, Mr. Karenga, 35, typifies the kind of Negro militant who is claiming increasing power, and national attention. One civil rights observer calls him "one of the leading theoreticians in the national black power movement." Recently he has appeared on the same program with McGeorge Bundy of the Ford Foundation at a conference of educators at Yale and addressed the national convention of the Congress of Racial Equality. But his role as leader, as well as his personal history, is a study in contrasts.

Sunday evenings will find him lecturing segregated "soul sessions" on a broad range of subjects, including his concept of pre-emptive self-defense. (Briefly, the concept holds that if you think you're about to be hit -- hit first.) "When the word is given, we'll see how tough you are," he writes in the Quotable Karenga, a small handbook issued to followers. "When it's 'burn,' let's see how much you burn. When it's 'kill,' let's see how much you kill. When it's 'blow up,' let's see how much you blow up."

Chilling as these statements may sound in the wake of the recent

burning, looting and killing in the Negro district of Cleveland, Mr. Karenga has a less militant side, one seldom seen by other whites or his Negro followers. He's a shrewd politician who works behind the scenes as a lobbyist for black nationalism -- by which he says does not mean black separation -- among both white officials and moderate Negro leaders. A few weeks after the assassination of Martin Luther King, for example, Mr. Karenga slipped into Sacramento for a private chat with Gov. Ronald Reagan, at the governor's request. The black nationalist also met clandestinely with Los Angeles Police Chief Thomas Reddin after Mr. King was killed.

Civil rights observers agree that Mr. Karenga is typical of many militants who talk of looting and burning but actually are eager to gather influence for quiet bargaining with the predominantly white power structure. "Ron has a strong personal interest in exploiting the fear of violence without actually using it," observes a Negro lawyer here.

TWO REVOLUTIONS

Mr. Karenga's shaven head, Genghis Khan-style mustache and dark glasses (to say nothing of the bodyguard at the door) make him appear rather fearsome at first. But this impression fades quickly in face-to-face conversation.

SPEAKING FOR THE OUTSIDERS

"He typifies the black militant leadership today," says C. Eric Lincoln, Negro author of several books on black power. "Their strength is in their ability to articulate the feelings of large numbers of people who don't belong to any group."

Mr. Karenga's prestige also rose after his open participation in an "operational unity steering committee," formed by the Black Congress only hours after Mr. King's death. The committee's main purpose was to prevent Negro rioting here. It reached beyond the membership of the Black Congress to include the relatively staid Urban League, the local representative of Mr. King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference and a leading moderate Negro clergyman.

A source who sat in on several committee meetings says Mr. Karenga's role was "crucial" (the phrase "operational unity" was his,

for example). For the first time, the militant US leader was able to meet on an even footing with several moderate Negro leaders -- including one who had dismissed him only a few days before as "more of a nuisance than anything else." At the same time, Mr. Karenga was holding his secret meetings with Police Chief Reddin, as well as with other city officials.

CONTROLLING THE TROOPS

Significantly, while rioting erupted in many other cities after the assassination, Los Angeles remained calm. Chief Reddin has praised the special Black congress committee, and other observers give Mr. Karenga in particular much credit. "Karenga played a very key role because he controls the military troops, so to speak," says one.

WIELDING POWER

Today, when Mr. Karenga isn't making speeches around the country, he can usually be found at the US cultural center in south-central Los Angeles. There, US members answer the phone with "hakiari gani" (What's news?) and often use other Swahili phrases in conversation. Some wear "bubas," kiosk-like garments that Mr. Karenga designed himself. Others wear red or green sweatshirts with Mr. Karenga's face emblazoned on the front. During a recent talk with a white interviewer, Mr. Karenga took telephone calls from around the country and dealt with a wide range of problems.

One call came from a member of the board of directors of the local antipoverty program. At the time US members were helping to picket one of the program's training centers and there had been a flare-up on the picket line that morning.

"We'd like to try to solve this at the political level first," Mr. Karenga told the caller. "There's some corruption over there, and the people are very angry about it." A few days later the antipoverty board voted to suspend the training project's director and chief fiscal officer, pending an audit and review of the program.

Another caller was greeted in Swahili and informed that the young leader of a recently formed militant Mexican-American group was in jail. "Find out where he is and exactly what it takes to get him out," the caller was directed. "We

are going to try to help raise some money for bail." The jailed leader was soon free on bail.

A long-distance call requesting advice came from a leader of a militant organization of young Negroes in Chicago. "You gotta watch those politicians, man," Mr. Karenga warned the Chicagoan.

A 21-HOUR DAY

Such calls and conferences keep Mr. Karenga busy. One recent Monday he put in a 21-hour day that began at 5 a.m. with solitary study of Swahili, Zulu and Spanish in his two-bedroom home. It continued through five meetings and conferences, a filmed television interview and a 9 p.m. flight to a sixth meeting with San Diego black nationalists. That meeting ended at 2 a.m. and Mr. Karenga spent the night in San Diego. He calls the day "typical."

Mr. Karenga's wife, Brenda, gave birth to their third child and second son in April. All three children have African firstnames. Mrs. Karenga, who wears her hair in the "natural" African style, has written a Swahili primer for use in teaching children. The home is decorated in an African motif, and a favorite family meal is "nyama," an African dish made of chopped beef and vegetables.

The US leader is reluctant to discuss his personal finances or those of his organization, but there's no outward evidence to suggest that he's getting rich. He says he turns over all his speaking honorariums (which range up to \$1,000 a speech) to US. Some critics doubt this, however. The organization also meets its bills through "commitments" from its members and donations from some whites and moderate Negroes, he says.

There are occasional breaks in Mr. Karenga's grueling pace. Sitting in his office, answering telephone calls and questions from an interviewer, the black militant is interrupted by an eager Negro boy of about five who rushes to his desk and greets him with the Swahili word, "maungu" -- a highly honorific title, meaning, Mr. Karenga asks the boy, the son of an US member, what he is doing.

"Just trying to be black, maungu," the youngster replies, then dashes away.

Eulogy

Bunchy Carter and John Huggins two names that take their place along with Malcolm X and other freedom fighters in the Black Liberation struggle. We as members of the Vanguard loved and respected you as did all Black people for whom you gave your lives, so that they could obtain their freedom. You died because your ideology was a direct contradiction to the racist establishment. You died because you had an undying love for Black people.

But your death has not been for naught. Your death has merely perpetrated a higher motivation for your brothers and sisters in the Black Panther Party to intensify the struggle for that cool clear drink of water-freedom for Black people.

The end is in sight for the pig power structure and the pork chop operation that stole away your beautiful lives.

Power to you brothers and in the words of Che Guevara "wherever death may surprise us let it be welcome if our battle cry has reached even one receptive ear and another hand reaches out to take up our arms."

Bobby Herron

PRESS: "Karenga runs the Black Congress through force, intimidation and ignorance. They have held elections where Karenga had his men surround the building and then he would be inside and tell them how to vote.

In meetings they have a 70 man filibuster. A bunch of Karenga's goons kept disrupting the BSU meetings so nothing could get done. Last week they kept them arguing for 3 days before they lost out."

"What about the United Brotherhood Crusade?" we asked. "It is emanates from the Black Congress, US runs it." Sherwood Banks said of the killings: "Karenga is responsible because Karenga has stated that he is responsible for any actions of US members."

George P. Siner, 22, gave himself up Monday on the advice of his lawyer, Larry J. Siner, 21, gave himself up at the San Diego airport the same evening. Both were booked for murder and Larry was taken to USC medical center for treatment of a fresh gunshot wound in the shoulder. Both Siner brothers are UCLA students and US members. They are out on \$31,250 bail for allegedly shooting an Orange County man last year and will go to trial on February 10. They have not yet been arraigned on the latest charges.

Ron Karenga was not available for comment and reliable informants say he is in San Diego. Things may look very different after Karenga has had his way.

In the meantime 9 Panthers (3 sisters and 6 brothers) are still in jail on conspiracy charges. The Panthers are asking for help in bailing them out. Bail contributions may be sent to: Black Panther Party, P. O. Box 3045, Compton, California, 90223.

The establishment assault on the Black Panther Party continued after the re-ent slaying of two high potential UCLA students, both Panthers, John Huggins, 23, and Bunchy Carter, 26, shot down in the Campbell Hall lunchroom (old health sciences building) at about 2:40 p.m. Friday, January 17, 1969. A meeting of the Black Students Union had just concluded and people were getting ready to leave.

Last June's political assassination in the Ambassador Hotel happened the same way, with leaders leaving after the victory. An as-

ML Ron Karenga is an intellectual who has advanced and promoted black culture in the ghetto through his personal acquaintance with Black Studies, the program he followed at UCLA. Black Studies was not a discipline during the years Ron studied there, but he managed to assemble a respectable substitute out of Political Science, Sociology, History, Swahili and subjects in the African studies Department.

The Friday BSU meeting can only be understood in the context of the victorious offensive waged by the Black Panthers and the BSU at San

for with objections that his qualifications were not up to UCLA standards. Adopting an autonomous stand against the "community leaders," the students insisted that the head of the new department must have a PhD. (Ron Karenga has an M.A.) Chancellor Young had to yield.

A faculty member close to the Black Studies program said: "The US element did not seem interested in it as an academic program. They may have been more concerned with its impact on the community."

Friday at noon, UCLA's right-wingers held a rally to counteract the dangerous ideas expressed by Huggins Wednesday. The first speaker was an anti-communist alien who told how the communist took over everything "back in the old country," and promised the same thing over here.

Larry Labovitz of Valley State called for a few punches in the "right place" from college athletes and said: "They talk of putting us up against the wall. We'll put them up against the wall." CIA Stephens, rally organizer, was roundly heckled by some SDS types and the guitar player was terrible.

A few hundred yards away, in Campbell Hall, the BSU meeting was starting. The subject of discussion was the Black Studies program. About 150 students attended the meeting which ended the way Malcolm X's last meeting ended. The tragic event had some very racist political implications.

Within four hours of the killings officers of the LAPD made use of the opportunity to strike a second shattering blow at the victims. A large number of cops descended on the Watts residence of John Huggins, arresting his young wife Erika, and 16 other persons. The police claimed that they had probable cause to expect a Panther "retaliation" for the assassinations. There was no clear and present danger, however, since Ron Karenga was 100 miles away in San Diego. The Panthers blame Karenga for the killings.

It started raining a short time after the police raided the Huggins residence on Friday evening. Panthers say officers of the LAPD tore the blanket off the Huggins' two-week-old baby and would not let Erika wrap the child in it. She used her coat and, when they reached the 77th street station, the booking officer insisted on searching the infant. Putting the child down, he said:

"If we find any marijuana in this coat we'll look the kid for possession." The baby was in jail for seven hours.

Twelve of the other arrested victims were booked on suspicion of conspiracy to commit assault with a deadly weapon and possession of firearms. The LAPD is making imaginative use of the conspiracy law. Their way of attacking victims merits closer examination.

Nine of those arrested are still in jail, unable to raise \$5,500 apiece for bail. Erika Huggins got out Saturday afternoon. She and the baby have gone back to New Haven with John Huggins' body. The funeral will be held there.

Saturday, David Hilliard arrived from Oakland. Hilliard had come here to L.A. to plan a fund-raising pooling group, the Black Alternative for the Newton-Cleaver Defense Fund. He waded into a press conference.

"The Black Panther Party is the target of the racist police," Hilliard said and spoke angrily about Huggins' widow and the others being arrested: "They were not the murderers, but the murderers are still loose.

"We have always taken precautions, but you can't stop assassinations. The 17 people who were arrested were armed to protect themselves against aggressors. We do not relate to the police as our protectors. We don't expect them to defend us but if we know who did it we would cooperate with the police to see what they would do."

Hilliard pointed out that there are "enemies within the assemblies of black people themselves ... This is the pattern that all revolutions follow. You don't live forever. At this point we need the Minister of Defense more than ever."

The Panthers are in contact with BSU members and other UCLA students who were in the Campbell Hall lunchroom at the time of the shooting. Police learned that two brothers, US members named Siner, took part in the shooting. The Panthers issued a statement calling it "a political assassination by US organization. Big white pigs killed Bobby Hutton, little black porkchops killed Bunchy and John. Porkchop nationalism is part and parcel of the pig power structure."

The community's reaction to the killing and vicious charges aimed at US was first anguish and then surprise. One informed observer could not believe it. "I'm sure it's not US. I don't see how Karenga could get involved in something like that. He is filling his pockets along with Walter Bremond."

Examination revealed that federal grants have gone to US, that Bremond is operating a string of gas stations in the ghetto for Standard Oil and the Bank of America, and that both Bremond and Karenga are to be major beneficiaries of the United Brotherhood Crusade \$3 million dollar fund raising now in progress. Both are members of the Community Advisory Council to help plan UCLA's new Afro-American Studies Center.

Margaret Wright has been a leading figure in the struggle for community control of the schools. We called Mrs. Wright to find out the extent of community involvement in planning the Black Studies Program at UCLA. She said there was none.

"We heard from the students that there was some kind of a hassle. They said that the Community Advisory Board was trying to go over the heads of the students and had gone to the Chancellor.

"I don't know anything about the black studies program at UCLA. I only went up there once, when the students asked me to speak at a BSU meeting.

"I only got involved in a school when the students ask me to help. There wasn't very much friction at UCLA. The BSU is the oldest in the area and always has been the best organized."

Mrs. Wright is the head of the Black Community School Board and once took part in the Black Congress. She now works with an office to L.A. to plan a fund-raising pooling group, the Black Alternative for the Newton-Cleaver Defense Fund.

Panther spokesmen told the FREE

LOS ANGELES PANTHERS AWAIT JUSTICE FOR "US" ORGANIZATION PIGS

assault fired a pistol at close range from behind. John Huggins fell dead, hit in the back by the 357 magnum bullet. Carter was fatally shot in the chest. Carter fell and everybody scattered. One student dived out a window. A passerby thought it was the "gorilla theater." Someone else saw four men running west from Carter Hall past the Humanities building toward parking lot 5.

When police arrived 15 minutes later no eyewitnesses to the affray remained in the building. They closed Campbell Hall and interrogated the dozen or so people inside.

TV cameramen arrived and announced that "very little more than that is known at this point." An ambulance arrived about 6 p.m. to remove the bodies. While waiting for them to bring the bodies one news cameraman joked, "Are we going out to dinner after this, I'm working on an appetite. If they come out extra bloody I'll be extra hungry."

After the bodies were loaded in the van, police investigators held a press conference in Humanities 1200. The Free Press was excluded from the conference, but informants say the police were very careful about what they told newsmen. The FBI was present and police merely explained that none of the people who were questioned in the building were put under arrest.

UCLA observers describe "an oppressive aura of totalitarianism" among Black students in recent weeks. All agree that there was a power struggle going on over selection of a director to control the new Afro-American Center.

UCLA was a source of power for Maulana Ron Karenga even before he graduated from there 3 or 6 years ago. He became an ardent black nationalist, shaved his head, but took care not to drop out of school. Karenga organized US, a black nationalist group. US became prominent in early summer 1966, when they were on the cover of Life magazine.

Karenga is not a street brother, although he has learned some street tongue just as he has learned Swa-

hili. Ron Karenga is an intellectual who has advanced and promoted black culture in the ghetto through his personal acquaintance with Black Studies, the program he followed at UCLA. Black Studies was not a discipline during the years Ron studied there, but he managed to assemble a respectable substitute out of Political Science, Sociology, History, Swahili and subjects in the African studies Department.

The Wednesday before his death John Huggins addressed a rally at Neyerhoff Park (UCLA's free speech area). He explained the purpose of the black studies program:

"What we need is a black studies program which teaches us what we need to know about racist America. When we say a black studies program we're dealing with real things --with the survival of a race of people who have been brought to this country, brutalized and mis-educated. We need this information to take it into the communities.

"We are not against white teachers as long as we can control what is taught. We need an educational system that we can relate to. We're calling for Black students, Mexican American students and white students to unite, because you don't have any power either and are being used by the people who oppress you.

"We expect you white students to say 'Hell, No' to the board of trustees if you are to regain your humanity, as the Black students have had to do. We have two major enemies in this country, capitalism and racism."

A meeting was scheduled for that afternoon with Chancellor Young, the BSU and the Community Advisory Committee to discuss selection of the Black Studies Director. BSU asked Young to cancel the meeting, but the Chancellor met with Ron Karenga in the Regents' room. They parted in optimistic agreement.

Thursday, at another meeting of the BSU, we are told that the Panther faction won. They elected a new coordinating committee, sweeping US and the Advisory Council aside.

The BSU opposed the US candidate for the Black Studies direc-



EDITORIAL . . .

BY FRANK JONES
Deputy Minister Of Information

"Divide and conquer" is an axiom that oppressive power structures have utilized to maintain their dominance over the working class of people. We are now faced with a dilemma that could be of great consequence to the majority of Black peoples. Two members of the Black Panther Party have been assassinated by members of another Black organization, and now the Black community is waiting to see what will be done by both of the organizations involved in this situation.

If the Black Panther Party seeks immediate revenge for the loss of two revolutionary brothers, and the U.S. organization offers significant resistance, then we will have division among the Black segment of the population, and the repressive establishment will attempt to capitalize on this division. On the other hand if the Black Panther Party does nothing about the assassination of Brothers Bunchy and John, we may give the impression that the Party will tolerate such despicable acts with no attempt to avenge the injustice.

Malcolm X has said that when Black people have differences of opinion, these differences should be resolved in a closet so as to give no public display of disunity among Blacks. In the case of the assassination of Brothers Bunchy and John the public is apparently aware that there is some disunity. Now we must take positive steps to avoid allowing this manifested disunity from becoming destructive to the Black Liberation Movement. In addition this must be done without giving a mistaken impression that the Black Panther Party will tolerate such injustices.

My first reaction was incorrectly one of revenge. I felt that if we took immediate steps to gain revenge we would demonstrate to the people that the Black Panther Party is indeed a powerful institution. My first inclination was to kill three or four members of U. S. in retaliation for Brothers Bunchy and John. I was surprised when our Chairman, Bobby Seale, and our Chief of Staff, David Hilliard, failed to issue the order. Both Bobby and David immediately assessed the assassination as an attempt to invoke a reactionary response from the Party. They realized that the establishment would utilize any vindictive action by the Party as an excuse to inflict oppressive measures against the Party.

Their analysis of the situation proved to be correct. The arrest of 17 Panthers in Los Angeles immediately after the assassination, and the large collection of pigs around the National Office validated their assessment. When I left the National Office on the night of the assassination I spotted a carload of pigs within one half block of our National Office. This prompted me to drive around the area to survey the situation, and what I found was indeed revealing. Within a six block area from our National Office I spotted five or six pig vehicles. I guess that they were waiting for an incident so that they could claim that they were the victims of an "unprovoked attack." When Charles Bursey, Berkeley Captain, and I went back to the National Office later that night the pigs were gone. Our leaders had outfoxed (out-Panthered) them.

I can now see more clearly why Bobby and David reacted as they did. Improper action by the Party may have caused a premature confrontation between the Party and the establishment. But even more important is the fact that by not taking immediate reactionary steps our leaders prevented the chasm of disunity from widening. If we had implemented retaliatory action against U. S., many of the innocent and improperly led members of that organization would have suffered from the wrath of the Panther.

EDITORIAL STATEMENT

The Black Panther Party appreciates the contributions of all revolutionary people and will attempt to publish all relevant material that is submitted to the Black Panther newspaper. THE BLACK PANTHER is an instrument of political education and is published with the intent of countering the misinformation that often appears in the mass communication media.

THE BLACK PANTHER is not to be considered an outlet for emotional outburst of irrelevant profanity. This is not to imply that all profanity will be eliminated from THE BLACK PANTHER, but to inform contributors that all material must correspond with the primary purpose of the paper — to educate the oppressed.

Our leaders instead have decided to make the establishment work against itself. If the assassination was indeed inspired by the establishment in an effort to create an inflammatory situation this has failed, and now the establishment must prosecute its own agents, or admit the perverted type of racist activity in which it is engaged. The plot to create division has failed because the Panther leadership is aware of the type of treachery that the establishment will employ to protect its wealth and status.

The Black Panther Party will not allow any exterior force or interior corruption to create disunity among Black people. If the leaders of U. S. or any other organization are going to allow members of their organization to be used by the establishment then the Black Panther Party will expose those leaders as pawns in the hand of the oppressive establishment. The Party realizes that the rank and file of most Black organizations have a sincere interest in the Black Liberation Movement, and that only the leadership of establishment oriented organizations is corrupt. With this in mind it is the duty of the Party to make the masses aware of those leaders whose only goals are ones of self gratification.

Improper leadership is often reflected in the improper action of members of that leader's organization. The rank and file adopt the attitudes of its leaders and act on the premises that are advanced by the leaders. Whenever the rank and file act in an uncomplimentary manner, the leaders of a righteous organization will immediately criticize those actions. A case in point is the Black Panther renouncement of the acts of opportunistic banditry by some of its former members. When a leader does otherwise it can be assumed that that leader does not have the best interest of the Black community at heart.

After the assassination of Brothers Bunchy and John, the leadership of U. S., notably Ron (Karenga) Everett, made no statements whatsoever, and then later it has been reported that Karenga made statements criticizing the Black Panther Party. These statements were all of a nebulous nature and were based entirely on subjectivism which is an intrinsically illogical form of comment.

Because Karenga has made no statements of censure it seems safe to assume that he is in agreement with the action of his followers -- possibly he gave the order to have Bunchy and John assassinated. If so, Karenga, too, must pay for this atrocity.

The Black Panther Party has given its initial indication that the murder of Panthers will not go unpunished. The Party was instrumental in the arrest of the two alleged assassins. The Los Angeles pig department tried to pretend that there was no evidence on which to indict anyone, but our Chief of Staff, David Hilliard, showed them so much evidence that they could not find a suitable excuse for ignoring it. The pigs are always hesitant to arrest and prosecute their own agents. Now they are going to be forced to prosecute and convict some of their own.

The Black Panther Party has effectively prevented the establishment from dividing the Black Liberation Force, and at the same time, the Party has forced the establishment to start the prosecution of its own agents. The Black Panther Party will react to pigs and the pigs agents in the same manner. Anyone who allows the establishment to use them as an agent to disrupt the liberation movement is in fact a pig and will be brought to justice.

Let the action of the Black Panther Party serve notice to all. When man deals with man, justice is a goal. But when pigs deal with Panthers, justice is inevitable.

COWARDLY SNAKES KILL PANTHERS



ALPRENTICE "BUNCHY" CARTER
DEPUTY MINISTER OF DEFENSE
SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

Using the method of a snake that strikes without warning, members of the five, foot licking, group called "US" crept up behind two members of the Black Panther Party and shot them in the back. This is the tactic used by the pigs when dealing with Panthers. These chevron-headed pretenders are a detachment of the Los Angeles Pig Department. Their leader, that bigmouth, fat lipping, punk called Karenga, is paid by the power structure to infiltrate all Black Power Conferences or any get together where black people are making an honest effort to deal with the racist power structure. Ron Karenga is part and parcel of the pigs. He is an informer for the slavemasters. He is paid by the slavemasters to

sell out black people and cause disunity among the masses. Now he has killed to satisfy his master. This time he messed up. He killed a Panther. He killed members of the Vanguard. From this point on his and his groups asses belong to people, and if the people don't get him the Panthers will. The Panthers don't want to see any of these book lickers on the streets of any city in the United States. If they are seen, they are to be given the same type of justice they gave John Huggins and Brother Bunchy. They had better catch a ride on the next ship going to the moon because earth is too small to hide them.

Our souls will not rest until these "pork chops" are dead.
Dynamite



JOHN JEROME HUGGINS
DEPUTY MINISTER OF INFORMATION
SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA



ON CULTURAL NATIONALISM

By Linda Harrison

Cultural nationalism is recognized by many who think in an revolutionary manner as a distinct and natural stage through which one proceeds in order to become a revolutionary. Such is not always the case, and many people remain at the level of a cultural nationalist all of their lives. In the United States, cultural nationalism can be summed up in James Brown's words - "I'm Black and I'm Proud."

Cultural nationalism manifests itself in many ways but all of these manifestations are essentially grounded in one fact: a universal denial and ignoring of the present political, social, and economic realities and a concentration on the past as a frame of reference.

This phenomenon is not unique to this stage of the revolution in which we find ourselves; neither is it unique to the United States Black "citizens" struggle for freedom. Frantz Fanon - in *THE WRETCHED OF THE EARTH* said of this phenomenon that "There is no taking of the offensive - and no redefining of relationships. There is simply a concentration on a hard core of culture which is becoming more and more shriveled up - inert and empty."

Those who believe in the "I'm Black and Proud" theory believe that there is dignity inherent in wearing natural hair; that a buba makes a slave a man; and that a common language; Swahili; makes all of us brothers. These people usually want a culture rooted in African culture; a culture which ignores the colonization and brutalization that were part and parcel; for example; of the formation and emergence of the Swahili language. In other words cultural nationalism ignores the political and concrete, and concentrates on

there to go after a woman has got a natural -- to the natural shop of course! - and pay \$5.50 for a hair-do, \$2.00 for oil spray; \$2.00 for comb out conditioner, \$3.50 for a line and comb-out, and then to the dress shop for a traditional wrap priced at \$25.00 to \$50.00. On the way to and from this shopping and spending they are still observing the oppression and exploitation of their people in different clothes.

Because cultural nationalism offers no challenge or offense against the prevailing order; the influx of "Black and Proud" actors, movie stars, social workers, teachers - probation officers and politicians is tremendous. Bourgeoisie and upper class standing is no handicap to the "Black" and vice versa. The power structure, after the mandatory struggle, condones and even worships this new found pride which it uses to sell every product under the sun. It worships and condones anything that is harmless and presents no challenge to the existing order. Even its top representatives welcome it and turn it into "Black Capitalism" and related phenomena. Everyone is black and the bourgeoisie continue to hate their less fortunate black brothers and sisters; and the oppressed continue to want. The "Black" social worker continues to work for the degrading welfare system, and the "Black" probation and parole officers continue to violate their prisoners and parolees.

We have no nation without a fight against those who oppress us. We have no culture but a culture born out of our resistance to oppression. "No colonial system draws its justification from the fact that the territories (and people) it dominates are culturally nonexistent. You will never make

a myth and fantasy.

A man who lives under slavery and any of its extensions rarely regains his dignity by rejecting the clothiers of his enslaver; he rarely regains his dignity except by a confrontation on equal grounds with his enslaver. All men can die, and this is the only thing that equalizes them. Under many systems those with money die less often. Any confrontation which gives men, no matter what their social or economic position, an equal chance to die under equal conditions is uplifting for those who consider themselves at the bottom and degrading and repelling for those who are at the top. To see himself on an equal plane with his enslaver is to realize that the ones who enslave and oppress do not have the divine right to do so. There is nothing to be proud of in colonization and slavery and only out of the initiative of the oppressed can come something meaningful and amending to his existence.

Quoting Fanon "The desire to attach oneself to tradition or bring abandoned traditions to life again does not only mean going against the current of history but also opposing one's own people." Cultural Nationalists in their fiery support many of the evils which have put them in the position of servitude. In the absence of constructive and corrective platforms and actions, the support and profit from "Being Black" they become profit seekers selling earrings at 400% mark up and buba's from dime store yardage at Saks 5th Avenue prices. Sort of a hustler trying to become respectable. Exploiting those with weaker minds and weaker pocketbooks.

And because cultural nationalism has no political doctrine as a rule - the limits of being black and proud are proximate. Where is

colonialism blush for shame by spreading out little known cultural treasures under its eyes." the peoples of Africa had cultures. It is only racism and economic necessities and whims that enslaved these countries and people. Apes have cultures - they are put into zoos. Economics transcends cultures in the capitalist context. That is to say that capitalism will always use as its basis for expansion a real or imagined economic necessity. It will of course justify with racist conclusions and explanations of the progress that they bring to the "Natives" and "Savages," and no culture in the world, except a revolutionary culture will stop or halt or destroy that advance. Colonialism, slavery, neocolonialism, and other extensions of capitalism thrive over a thousand and one cultures.

"It is around the peoples struggles that African-Negro culture takes on substance - and not around songs, poems or folklore." A culture that does not challenge wholly and resolutely the dominant and exploitative forces - political, economical, and social forces - is a culture which is either pre-slavery, pre-colonialistic or completely made up and is either case completely useless. And cultural nationalism, is most always based on racism. We hear "Hate Whiteness" and "Kill the Honkey". These statements ignore the analysis - intellectual analysis such as those made by Eldridge Cleaver on the relationships between the government and the pigs and marines etc; and they ignore the possibility of allies. In all cases cultural nationalism - in the midst of struggle, seeks to create a racist ideology. To be a racist in America is certainly justified, but it is a handicapped position

to take as a revolutionary.

"Adherence to African-Negro culture and to cultural unity of Africa is arrived at in the first place by upholding unconditionally the people's struggle for freedom. No one can truly wish for the spread of African culture if he does not give practical support to the creation of the conditions necessary to existence of that culture. . ."

How can a cultural nationalist claim to love and to be proud of a country - and a continent that has suffered for hundreds of years in colonialism and slavery, and is still suffering in all the cleverly disguised and open forms of these institutions. How can he himself deny the political realities of his own life in America by dressing up in a maternity smock (brightly colored) to participate in the culture of a people torn by revolution and revolt. How can a cultural nationalist claim adherence to the cultures of Africa, when the culture of Africa is a revolutionary culture. Solidarity with the revolutionary people all over the world has brought about a common culture to people who know nothing of each other except that they suffer under similar systems of exploitation; degradation, and racism. That their people have undergone much the same changes and that in no case with the people regain their dignity and find their freedom except through a face to face and equal confrontation through revolutionary tactics and actions "A revolutionary culture is the only valid culture for the oppressed?"

All quotations except the last one from *"THE WRETCHED OF THE EARTH"* by Fanon.

by Linda Harrison
East Oakland Office

LETTER

January 22, 1969

Brothers and Sisters:

I went to school at UCLA with John Huggins and some other members of the Party. John impressed me greatly as a serious and beautiful Black man of much dedication, and I admired his efforts to help Black people.

I must be truthful in saying that even at the present time, affected as I am by his death, I have not yet reached the point of dedication that I believe necessary to be a true Black Panther. I am reading, however, and trying more now than ever before to throw off the shackles of middle-class "pork-chop" nationalism and accept the true REVOLUTIONARY goals.

Please, let it be said the John Huggins died "giving birth" to revolutionary thoughts in AT LEAST ONE Black mind.

Arlene C. Jones

FEMALE
PANTHER
TORTURED

Joan Bird was taken into custody at 9:00 P.M. on January 17, 1969 after several shots had been fired at two pigs. She was beaten and tortured all night and morning. At 4:00 P.M., January 18, 1969, she was brought before Judge Tyler of the criminal court of New York where she was held as a material witness. At approximately 10:00 P.M. the following day (after 25 hours of detainment) she was arraigned on the following charges: 1. Assault with the intent to commit murder and 2. attempted murder.

Joan appeared in pain, as she had many apparent injuries: swollen eye, severely bruised forehead, swollen lip, and numerous cuts and bruises.

Sister Bird is 19 years old and a student nurse at Bronx Community College. A Brother, Lt. Lumumba, went to the 34th precinct along with his lawyer, to inquire about the safety of Sister Bird. For this, he was promptly arrested. He was arraigned, along with Joan in right court with conspiracy to commit murder and both were placed under \$20,000 bond.

COMPLETE STORY
IN NEXT ISSUE

OFF THE PIGS



FOR A REVOLUTIONARY CULTURE

The Minister of Education



the only culture worth keeping is the revolutionary culture . . .

Our culture must not be something that the enemy enjoys, appreciates, or says is attractive. It must be repelling to the slave master. It must smash, shatter and crack his skull, crack his eyeballs, open and make water and gold dust run out. Because the only culture worth keeping or that will be kept by black people is a revolutionary culture. Culture may be defined as the total creation of a people. Everything black people do, our food, songs, dances, music, art, literature, stories, poems, paintings, plays, speech, talk, kisses, embraces, squeezes, and clothes. Our black faces must be used in our revolutionary culture. All our energies, our dreams, our will, our total ways must be used to further the revolution through which we will attain our freedom, justice, and the land and the bread which we so desperately need. Whenever the settler, the master, the owner, a Kennedy, Johnson, Rockefeller or Romney talks about us, black people and our ways and attempts to praise us, that is placing our black consciousness into the milky way of racist America — their total ways, their culture is not revolutionary, it is stagnant — counter-revolutionary, repressive and murderous. The black men that Mayor Alioto praises are either Toms, fools, or black men who are being deceived, who do not have a revolutionary culture.

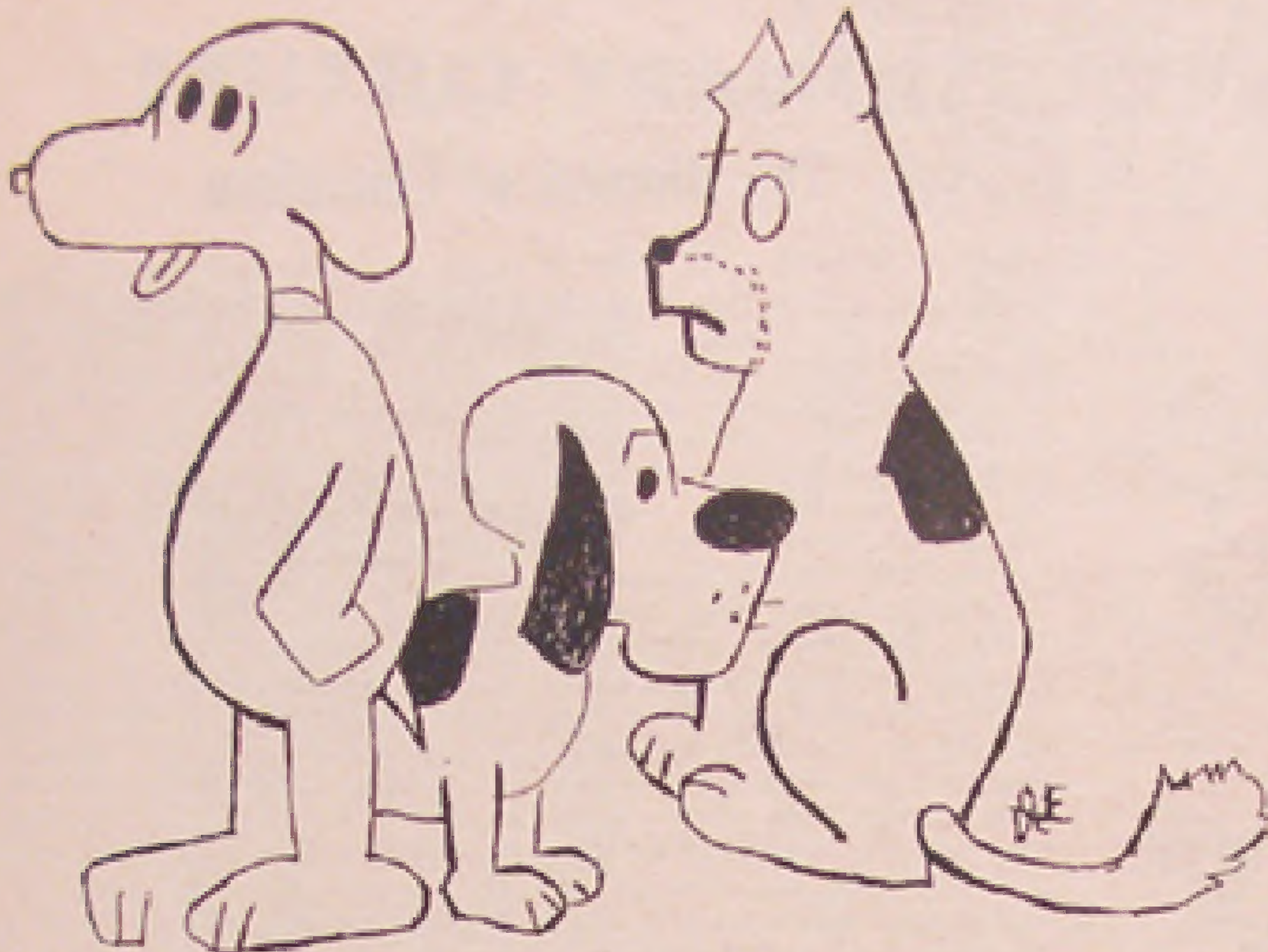
A revolution involves the total people; it needs all the energies of the people, requires all of our attention if it is to successfully stand. Therefore it involves the total ways of the people, hence the culture, and therefore our culture must be revolutionary, which by definition is anti-white, anti-capitalist, against imperialism, against the racist dogs. Lyndon Johnson has no use for revolution, or revolutionary culture, he has no use for change

which is freedom. The proof is the Vietnam war. Revolution is change, means freedom, and the American honkey, the American government nationally, statewide and locally, does not want change, does not want desire, and has no use for revolutionary culture, change or freedom for black people. The proof is the murder of Martin Luther King, Medgar Evers, Malcolm X, Patrice Lumumba, Che Guevara, and Bobby Hutton. Martin Luther King stood for change. Kennedy, McCarthy, Johnson and Humphrey do not want change, they want reform. They have no desire for our freedom, they want our votes and our courageous black youth to die in Vietnam fighting colored people, who never call us "nigger" or made us work in plantations as Johnson's Lady Buzzard does. Black people want change. We want change-revolution, we want freedom, we want, and will have the right to determine our destiny. The Vietnamese want change, the Chinese want change, the African wants change, the Indian wants change, the Cuban demands change, the Latin American demands change, the Puerto Rican wants change, demands freedom and is picking up the gun for freedom's sake. All people of color in the world want an end to the robbery of their countries and communities by the racist, piggish, fascist dog American white man. Therefore the total Vietnamese people north and south are waging a war of liberation against racism, against corruption and exploitation. The Vietnamese have a revolutionary culture, a fighting culture, a changing culture and a cultural spirit that demands change in the form of freedom, justice and equality not between Vietnam and the U.S., but between Vietnam and the world. If we are to be free, to be ourselves, be black, decide who we will elect to an office, and how he or she will function if we want our young black men to revolve in the U.S. Because America is the black man's battleground, if we want to determine who teaches our children at school and which days of the year will be sacred to us, that is the holy days which in the Honkey's country is called holiday. If we want this kind of freedom, if we demand these kind of changes which are parcels in a real revolution, then we must have a revolutionary culture, our songs must be about change, when we do the razor stroke, it must be across a pig's throat, so our dances must be about change. The Impressions say, "We're a Winner," just do what your black leaders tell you to, 'cause we're movin' on up. Our paintings must show piles of dead businessmen, bankers, lawyers, senators, congressmen, burning up inside their stores, being blown up in cafes, restaurants, night clubs. Our music, rhythm and blues, jazz, spiritual music, must burst the eardrums of the whites who dare to listen to it. Eddie Harris plays a side called "Listen Here," where you hear actual screams, coming from a Black Saxophone,

Those are the battle cries of mad, crazy black men, and the screams are coming from the honkey's throat as he and his wife are strangled to death, and robbed, looted, then set afire, for change. Because we are changing, we are deciding that freedom means change, changing from the slaves, the cowards, the boys, the toms, the clowns, coons, spooks of the 50's, 40's, 30's, into the wild, courageous, freedom fighting, revolutionary black nationalists of the 60's and the coming 70's are years of dynamite, black power for all of the third world, for all people of color in Asia, Africa, Latin America, the black islands of the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, the Middle East, we Africans, Asians, Indians, and Spanish-speaking people held captive in the cities, in the cotton field, tomato fields, grape fields, we farm workers, school dropouts, black, brown, red, and yellow workers, and unemployed, we are realizing we must have change, we must be free, we must have a revolution if we are to survive. Johnson does not want us free. Kennedy does not want us free. Rockefeller does not want us free. Alioto does not want black people to be free. McCarthy does not want us free. No American mayor, senator, police or fireman wants black people free. Rap Brown was sentenced to five years in jail and \$2000 fine in racist Louisiana. Huey Newton, our Minister of Defense, is in jail for defending himself. Martin Luther King was murdered because he was working to set black people free. Our great Prince Malcolm X was assassinated because he was working, fighting to set us free. All our black heroes — Africa's Patrice Lumumba died to set black people free. More than one million colored children in Vietnam have been murdered by the bombs that American whites dropped on the Vietnamese because the Vietnamese are fighting to be free.

Our energies, and all our feelings must be used to free ourselves. The police fear brothers and sisters who wear naturals, but the natural is not a gun, it is black, beautiful, but we need change, we need freedom, we need black power, and political power comes through the barrel of guns. We change, we are changing. We are changing from slaves to men fighting to be free. We are slaves today in prison, in jail, on the streets, in our houses, huts, tents, shacks, schools, on the few jobs available to us. We are slaves this evening! We must struggle, we must have change, or else there will be a tomorrow full of concentration camps, gas furnaces and the screams of our mothers and little sisters. Black men, Black people, colored prisoners of America, revolt everywhere! Arm yourselves. The only culture worth keeping is a revolutionary culture. Change, freedom everywhere. Dynamite! Black Power. Use the gun. Kill the pig everywhere.

Minister of Education
Black Panther Party
George Murray



Pig Regan & Pig ALIOTO has sent for some more help to Look for ELDRIDGE CLEAVER.

dextonbus ©

BLACK COLONEL BLASTS BUSINESS



MARSHALL B. BASS - tells industry "like it is."

After more than 20 years in the Army, during which he was wounded while commanding a combat outfit in Korea, Marshall B. Bass (Lt. Col. U.S. Army Ret.), now manager of personnel development for R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Co., didn't flinch when invited to tell a meeting of the Piedmont Associated Industries how a Black views industry. Bass was both blunt and candid in his appearance before the North Carolina organization.

"Most blacks feel deep down inside that the white man is basically a bigot and a racist who is not truly interested in his progress," Bass told the annual autumn management seminar. "I think you know why. His thoughts and feelings represent a culmination of year after year of what he considers injustice and unfair treatment.

"Through neglect, segregation, isolation, prejudice and apathy of and by the people of this country toward the Blacks," Bass told his all-white audience, "the problems of today were created."

Bass said the white man has earned the Blacks distrust. "The Black man doesn't believe that you want him to become a meaningful part of your society. The Black man knows that you are the power structure in the community and that if you wanted to integrate schools, you could. He knows that if you really wanted open housing, you could make it a reality.

"The Black man knows that you in industry control the purse strings of the community, and that you can say that the Black should be given equal opportunity.

"But he also knows that all too often you say that because you have enough sense to stay well within the law, and that most of you are not going to give a Black man half a chance unless you have to. He knows that many businesses today say they are equal opportunity employers only because they have to."

Bass said companies outwardly prescribe adherence to the law, knowing that somewhere down the line, someone will violate it. "The reason is obvious . . . you want things the way they are."

The only way to stop the discriminatory practices of profit oriented racism is to take the control of means of production from their hands and give it back to the collective mass of the people. The Black Panther has long advocated that "if the white American businessmen will not give full employment, then the means of production should be taken from the businessmen and placed in the community so that the people of the community can organize and employ all of its people and give a high standard of living."

LETTER FROM SAN FRANCISCO STATE COLLEGE

Brother Frank,

While manning the pocket line at San Francisco State College, I bought a copy of the Panther Paper and began scanning through it until I got to your article. I recently became interested in Economics and because of this interest I read your article in full. The first reading led to a second reading and the second led me off the line in search of pencil and paper to post these few comments.

First, I would like to congratulate you on a very well written article in a much needed area of study. The article reflects your keen understanding of capitalism. But of much more importance than congratulatory statements is -- hopefully -- a few constructive criticisms.

My first criticism is that it is probably beyond the readers who most need to understand it. While the article is not overly technical -- it is lacking in definitions of Economic terminology. As you know, many words have different meanings when used in an economic framework. Words like rent, interest, and capital will mean one thing to a person unfamiliar with economics and something altogether different to a student of economics. I will go directly to the next below for an example.

To go to the article--you stated, "To avoid making an unwarranted assumption I have decided to present my philosophy." And you proceeded to present American Capitalism juxtaposed to true or Laissez-faire Capitalism. I find within the body of the article these two economic institutions, one is a reality the other an abstraction. I have a personal problem here of determining--one, your philosophy and two, what is it you are advocating for Black people -- Laissez-faire Capitalism? The possibility of this misunderstanding is what I want to impress upon you.

Thank you Brother,
Greene Malone



CHE'S SUCCESSOR



DOUGLAS BRAVO
Devoted to Castro

the world. He joined Venezuela's Communist Youth League in 1951, at the age of 16, before the party was outlawed by former dictator Marcos Perez Jimenez.

Six years later he helped organize Venezuela's first Communist guerrilla bands in a movement dedicated to ousting the dictator. Now that Premier Castro has liberated Cuba, the Latin American Liberation Movement has gained additional strength and vigor. Power to Bravo! Liberation to the oppressed!

CARACAS--Since the death of the Cuban revolutionary, Ernesto "Che" Guevara, a Venezuelan has emerged as the leading Communist guerrilla in Latin America and Fidel Castro's newest revolutionary leader.

His name is Douglas Bravo, the surname literally meaning "Brave." He operated with approximately 100 men in Venezuela's western mountain ranges, an area he has known since childhood.

Last month he was elected president of the Cuban-sponsored Latin American Guerrilla Congress at a meeting in Colombia.

Cuban Premier Fidel Castro has personally and publicly designated Bravo to lead the liberation activity in Venezuela, whose oil makes it the wealthiest and whose dictatorial government is one of the strongest in Latin America.

Castro has often cited Venezuela as the priority target in his campaign of liberation of the oppressed.

Bravo is equally devoted to Castro. In a guerrilla manifesto he wrote in 1966, he described Castro as "the heart and the mind" of Latin America's future.

Bravo, 32, was an active Communist in Venezuela long before Castro's name became known to



WHERE IS MY FATHER?



With a deep hatred for the enemy a People's Army fighter practises to perfect his combat skill.

BOLIVIANS FIGHT

Peking, December 20, 1968, -- Bolivian peasants booted, stoned and drove away the pro-U.S. dictator barrientos from Belem on December 18, 1968, according to a report from La Paz.

Barrientos went to deliver a speech in Belem, a town approximately 55 miles to the northeast of La Paz, in a vain attempt to justify the agriculture and cattle unified tax designed to exploit the peasants. He was booted and stoned by the angry peasants on his arrival. Barrientos hastily got into his car under the protection of his bodyguards and police and left Belem in dismay.

The agriculture and cattle unified tax announced recently by the pro-U.S. dictatorial regime of the Bolivia has met with strong opposition of the broad masses of peasants. The tax is a new measure of exploitation aimed at shifting the burden of the present economic crisis onto the peasants, impoverishing them and then robbing them of their land.

RED BOOK BEST SELLER

PEKING (LNS) -- More than 740 million copies of Chairman Mao Tse-tung's little red book have been published and distributed in the last three years, according to an official Chinese report. During the same period, more than 96 million copies of Mao's poems and 150 million sets of the selected works of Chairman Mao have been printed.

The printing effort was said to have occupied more than 300 Chinese printing houses since the advent of the Great Proletarian Revolution three years ago.

JAPANESE STUDENTS FIGHT AMERICAN IMPERIALISM

Peking, December 21 (Asinhua) -- The Japanese University students struggle against the rule of U. S. and Japanese reactionaries and the decadent bourgeois educational system is gaining momentum, according to a Tokyo news agency report.

In Tokyo, progressive students of Jochi University have recently staged a strike and occupied the buildings of the University, including its head office. The students demanded that the University authorities repeat their unjustifiable decision on suspending from school those students who participated in the struggle against the expansion of the U. S. Military base in Tachikawa and that the students should have the freedom to engage in political activities. In collusion with the Sato government, the reactionary University authorities called in on December 21, seven hundred armed police to suppress the students barbarously in an attempt to drive the students out of the buildings.

However, in defiance of violence, the students heroically defended themselves and hit back with stones and bottles. Within one hour, the fascist police unwarrantedly arrested 52 students. The ruthless police suppression of progressive students evoked tremendous indignation among the broad masses of students. On learning the news, two thousand students rushed to the University and staged a protest rally at its playground, strongly condemning the Sato government and the University authorities for their crimes. Students of Tokyo University and Meiji Gakuin University who are also on strike joined the rally and encouraged the students of Jochi University to unite closely and

persist in struggle. The protest rally lasted for more than five hours in a militant spirit.

Progressive students of Osaka University recently occupied and blockaded one of the University buildings in protest against the unjustifiable punishment of students by the University authorities. The students have frustrated the sabotage by the Miyamoto Revisionist clique in the Japanese Communist Party and persevered in their strike since mid-October.

In June this year, the patriotic students of Osaka University participated in anti - U. S. Demonstrations against the use of Iwakura Airport by the U. S. Armed forces. The reactionary University authorities unreasonably punished three students on the pretext that "they disturbed order". The students put forth a stern demand that the punishment be waived by the University authorities. But this demand was rejected. For this reason, the students blockaded the University building and erected barricades at its entrance with desks and chairs.

The panic-stricken University authorities, collaborating with the Miyamoto Revisionist Clique, tried to deceive some students into opposing the progressive students. However, their plot fell through. At a recent meeting, the students severely denounced the University authorities and the revisionists who were driven out of the meeting like frightened rats.

1,500 students of Osaka University held a meeting on the afternoon of December 18. They dragged the University's president to the meeting, severely denounced his reactionary administration and pressed for their just demands.



FATAH

Baghdad, December 16, 1968 -- The Palestine National Liberation movement has declared that the Palestinian people have understood from their own experience that in their struggle for the liberation of Palestine, final victory will surely belong to them so long as they rely on themselves and on the rifles in their hands and persevere in their armed struggle against U. S. imperialism and Israeli aggressors.

This statement was made in a recent interview with a correspondent of the Iraqi newspaper AL JUMHURIYAH, which published it today.

Arafat reiterated the Palestinian people's determination to reject all plots of so-called "peaceful solution" and to carry their armed struggle through to the end.

Emphasizing the protracted nature of the Palestinian people's Liberation cause, Arafat said: "we are in need of still more steadfastness and further mobilization of our potentials for the battle."

He condemned U. S. imperialism and other imperialist states for their support of Israel in its criminal occupation of the Palestinian land and its aggression against the Arab people. "Western imperialist regard Israel as their base for plundering the riches of Israel's neighboring countries. World imperialism supports Israel; in return, Israel helps world imperialism in carrying out its conspiracies and schemes against the Arab Nation," he said.

Arafat also denounced William Sargent, "special envoy" of U. S. "president-elect" Richard Nixon, for his recent conspiratorial tour of the middle east.

IN DEFENSE OF SELF DEFENSE

By Huey P. Newton
Minister Of Defense



In response to the Mulford Gun Bill, Minister of Defense Huey Newton wrote a statement which Panther Chairman Bobby Seale delivered on the steps of the Capitol in Sacramento on May 2, 1967. The statement is as follows:

The Black Panther Party for Self-Defense calls upon the American people in general and the Black people in particular to take careful note of the racist California Legislature, which is now considering legislation aimed at keeping the Black people disarmed and powerless at the very same time that racist police agencies throughout the country are intensifying the terror, brutality, murder and repression of Black people.

At the same time that the American government is waging a racist war on genocide in Vietnam, the concentration camps in which Japanese Americans were interned during World War II are being renovated and expanded. Since America has historically reserved the most barbaric treatment for non-white people, we are forced to conclude that these concentration camps are being prepared for Black people, who are determined to gain their freedom by any means necessary. The enslavement of Black people from the very beginning of this country, the genocide practiced on the American Indians and the confining of the survivors on reservations, the savage lynching of thousands of Black men and women,

the dropping of atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and now the cowardly massacre in Vietnam, all testify to the fact that towards people of color the racist power structure of America has but one policy: repression, genocide, terror and the big stick.

Black people have begged, prayed, petitioned, demonstrated and everything else to get the racist power structure of America to right the wrongs which have historically been perpetrated against Black people. All of these efforts have been answered by more repression, deceit, and hypocrisy. As the aggression of the racist American government escalates in Vietnam, the police agencies of America escalates the repression of Black people throughout the ghettos of America. Vicious police dogs, cattle prods and increased patrols have become familiar sights in Black communities. City Hall turns a deaf ear to the pleas of Black people for relief from this increasing terror.

The Black Panther Party for Self-Defense believes that the time has come for Black people to arm themselves against this terror before it is too late. The pending Mulford Act brings the hour doom one step nearer. A people who have suffered so much for so long at the hands of a racist society, must draw the line somewhere. We believe that the Black communities of America must rise up as one man to halt the progression of a trend that leads inevitably to their total destruction.



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CUBAN REVOLUTION TEN YEARS OLD

Harvard's *Journal of Law, Politics, & Society* (JLPS) is a 1998 Harvard University Law School journal devoted to interdisciplinary research on law, politics, and society. The journal features a Harvard Law School student editor team from the ranks of the law school and, with one exception, had the United States as one of the primary geographic regions covered by

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In 1985, I was on the grounds of the house of a little-known, struggling poet and painter, but I didn't know his name. Fulgencio Batista, who had headed an authoritarian government in Cuba on previous occasions, took power in a coup d'état, overthrowing a democratically elected reform-minded president.

3. the Chinese government's concern on possibly increasing the number of its friends and allies in the region, and its growing economic and political influence in the region. The Chinese government has been the driving force behind the Chinese-led Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) and the Asian Infrastructure Development Fund (AIDF), which are aimed at financing infrastructure projects in Asia and other regions. The Chinese government has also been the driving force behind the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), which is a large-scale infrastructure project aimed at connecting Asia, Europe, and Africa. The Chinese government's growing influence in the region has led to concerns among other regional powers, such as the United States, Japan, and India, about the impact of China's growing power on the region's stability and security. The Chinese government's growing influence in the region has also led to concerns about the impact of China's growing power on the global environment, particularly in terms of climate change and the depletion of natural resources.

Franklin was a progressive, reformer, and he was not used to being persecuted by white and black mobs in the United States. In the U.S., he usually came with Labor Action Committee and was welcomed by white, black, and brown people after a long trip. But he was well known for his repressive policies and his illegitimacy, and he had been persecuted in the United States many of whom were experienced in being persecuted and fought for social struggle.

With money and pitches for more, Fied went to Miami, accompanied by his readings, including *Combs' Criticisms*, a pitcher for the San Francisco *San Francisco* (a friend during the guerrilla years) is the most famous name on the list.

In Mexico, Fiedl met two very important men. One was Enrique O'Farrill, an Argentine-born doctor who had watched through at the doctor of the revolution, kept political and strategic sense about the impending struggle. The other was General L. Alvarado Reyes, a 50-year-old officer who joined with the revolutionaries in 1910 and became a top leader.

Figure 1 illustrates the structure of the model. The model is based on the following assumptions:

John has written for the *Michigan Architectural Digest* for over a decade. He has written about architecture and preservation in the *Greening*, an online magazine, and in *Ann Arbor*, a print magazine. He is the author of the book *Up at the Cornudas* (Princeton, 1998).

For example, the *Journal of the American Medical Association* (JAMA) has a long history of publishing research on the health of African Americans. In 1968, JAMA published a study by Dr. James H. Hodge, Jr., and Dr. Robert C. Anderson, titled "The Health of the Negro in the United States." This study was one of the first to provide a comprehensive overview of the health status of African Americans in the United States. It found that African Americans had higher rates of mortality and morbidity than white Americans, and that these disparities were largely due to differences in access to healthcare and social factors. The study also highlighted the need for more research on the health of African Americans and for efforts to improve their health outcomes.

general the reader and suggesting some good reasons for doing so, as well as asking if the E and T functions could be given the same type of treatment as the S and M functions in the above

The next morning, on October 11, 1990, at 11:00 a.m., the reporter went to the site and took photos. The guards only asked for a payment of 60 or 40 pesos, depending on personal favoritism, and the BIA's armed soldier, wearing a 192-inch forehead of camouflage and a camouflage cap, told the reporter that he had to see the support of the press in the countryside to give the detainees a good BIA's army history of public relations. The guards only gave Hatasta's army was targeted most of all and that the struggle in the countryside — it was not a national movement, but a local movement, and it was not a movement, and it was not a movement, and it was not a movement. And the reporter said that the fact that the BIA's army from the north was not a movement in the future.

4. The author's personal experience with the Russian Revolution has been reported in a number of papers presented at the Symposium. From roughly similar observations of the Russian Revolution in the 1920s, the author has written *My Years in the Soviet Union* (1930) and *My Years in the Soviet Union* (1931).

At the same time, I have been a strong advocate of a more adequate level of funding in personnel management that would fund beyond the point of the first round of funding. Probably, he would not have been so far from the mark had his program been already well developed and been seen as the pre-eminent commitment program in the nation. Indeed, you support in the future, I am sure, and because of its age, in all respects, but it was in the days that Britain's economy was most visible. It was there that the tragedy, and even a second emergency, the collapse of the government and the dissolution of the state was.

Even DHS computer programs flagged Fabel, though in the State Department and the CIA, officials said Fabel had no record. Fabel was an arms dealer, and would be opposed, given much like any foreign-born citizen to the spies who defected from the West, and were being recruited.

For this study, I also performed a test of the assumption of parallelism and the test of the homogeneity of variances. The results of the tests are as follows:

The Workers Communist Party, known as the People's Socialist Party, originally saw itself as an adjunct to a revolutionary struggle for long-term armed struggle in the Soviet Union and elsewhere. In mid-1938, a high-ranking Communist Party official, Charles Ruffel, became acquainted with David in the United States and arranged an exchange of mutual dispatches. The Communist Party gave full support to the 26th of July Movement, including information to the staffs of the Moscow and Clayton Ruffel had previously agreed to meet and coordinate with the revolutionary government, through direct relations. Communist Party, David. The change from long-term to a focus on political movements.

the authors. I also discussed the importance of the findings for the future of the industry. The findings of the study are that the industry is not yet ready to adopt the use of the Internet for the distribution of financial products. The findings also suggest that the industry is not yet ready to adopt the use of the Internet for the distribution of financial products. The findings also suggest that the industry is not yet ready to adopt the use of the Internet for the distribution of financial products.

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JOHN HUGGINS
 JOHN HUGGINS (1940-1968)
 (Copyright: [illegible])



BUNCHY CARTER
 BUNCHY CARTER (1941-1968)
 (Copyright: [illegible])

**BUNCHY CARTER
 JOHN HUGGINS
 MEMORIAL FUND**

BLACK PANTHER PARTY
 1968-1969
 (Copyright: [illegible])



BLACK PANTHER CAUCUSES

EXPOSÉ . . . 1969

We, the Black Panther Caucus of the Union Movement — the Vanguard of Labor — will expose the true nature of G.M., Ford, Chrysler; we will pull the sheets from the repugnant pig power structure in this or any other racist nation. (The first in line for this AWARD FOR RACISM is the U.S. Government). At the General Motors Corp., a G.M. supervisor said, quote, "If you have the right attitude a 10.5 diploma, you can be a foreman, unquote. THANKS THOMAS (1) You must possess a racist attitude. (2) Be racist-illiterate. (3) Be a labor fascist — the foreman is always trying to fool the workers. The meaning of RIGHT ATTITUDE for the so-called Negro foreman is variable. Two and Three are self-explanatory and Number 1 clearly states that we are right's first human test. Now, students, if you all understand what I mean by the RIGHT ATTITUDE, I now pronounce you G.M. foremen!

(The following excerpts are taken from a statement made by the Black Panther Party, issued by the U.A.W. and Teamsters).

"The Alliance for Labor Action (A.L.A.) will devote its efforts and resources to the common interests and concerns of the millions of unorganized, strengthening collective bargaining and dealing with CRITICAL POLITICAL, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF THE DAY.

DECLARATION OF PURPOSE

"The labor movement is at a crossroad. It must subject itself to honest self-searching and self-evaluation. It must free itself from complacency and self-congratulation. It must acquire a sense of renewal and dedication to social progress. It must free itself of old attitudes and habits and demonstrate the willingness, the capability and the commitment to make fundamental changes in its policies that respond to the realities of a rapidly changing world.

"In this time of crisis, dynamic and responsible labor organizations must coordinate leadership and provide teamwork toward the common advance and protection of the welfare of working people and must work together in the community in the common effort to find answers to the urgent problems of the whole of our nation.

"The plight of the farm workers is intolerable. Denied the protection of laws enacted to protect corporate farm owners, these workers need active and total support and assistance to build a union organization if they are to achieve elementary dignity and justice.

"The crisis are in crisis. Poverty casts its shadow over the total society. Unemployment remains a threat to the general welfare. Unemployment and

and at the core of our cities. Millions of families live in slums with decent housing beyond their economic reach.

"The concept of racism is still unshared. Another civil war not a police state is an acceptable alternative. There is another way . . . a massive assault by all men of good will and of all races and ethnic against bigotry and against social and economic injustice.

"We stand in common on economic barriers and all forms of discrimination that deny a child or youngster opportunity for maximum growth and development.

"We need to reorganize the economies of hospital and medical care to check the skyrocketing costs and make modern, high quality, comprehensive medicine available to all the people as a matter of right.

COMMUNITY UNION

"Join with other groups in the community in helping to organize community unions so that the working-poor, the unemployed and the underemployed may have the opportunity of participation, of self-organization and of determination in dealing effectively with their problems.

SOCIAL AND COMMUNITY ACTION

"Cooperate with other concerned community groups to promote and support activities at the national and local levels.

"To expand educational opportunities to facilitate the growth and development of each child and youth to his maximum capability. Including free university education, unrestricted by economic, racial or other such barriers.

"To join with others in a massive effort to help rebuild and rehabilitate America's urban areas by the full use of advanced technology, new materials and methods and by entering the maximum and meaningful participation of the people of the inner city in all aspects of this urgent task so that decent, adequate housing can be made available and put within the economic reach of America's working people."

REDAWN OF THE ALICE

"We must educate the working people to the political impact that the U.A.W. and other unions have on their lives and communities.

"We must gather the masses in a revolution to knock out the corrupt leaders — by democratic elections or any means necessary.

"We have allowed ourselves to become part and parcel in the exploitation of non-working people by simply accepting quiet and passive. We must, when dealing with the pigs, give all the power to the people as represented in the International U.A.W. and local U.A.W. and other unions. In the pigs, go the earth!

"We must organize the U.A.W. and other unions. We must, go the earth!

POWER OF THE PRESS

This is to the downroader power of the world and the power of power structure.

Every week The Black Panther Party produces a paper, that spreads from California to Africa and its primary function is to serve as an organizing tool for black people and all other oppressed people throughout the world.

Our intent is so important that it is an absolute necessity that the information we circulate with our paper, reach the brothers in the street, those that are concerned with the racist, imperialistic government. That also means to supply and the system that are opposed to the existence of this society and of most importance, to tell the people to an awareness.

The pigs don't want you to read anything that the Black Panther Party produces. This especially relates to our papers worldwide circulation. This phenomenon has occurred because we write about the evils of this society, how the pigs oppress our people, how they treat us into believing that Black Capitalism is the answer, etc. The author of Black Capitalism is none other than whitey-dick Nixon, the 37th president of the United States. The power structure doesn't want you to read this stuff because they are afraid that when the people finally realize what's happening, they will say, "Up against the wall, you third, second, racist, murderer, we come for what's ours!" That is what they don't want you to do. How to overcome, Black Capitalism means Black pigism. They don't even want you to read the truth of the political assassination that occurred on March 4, 1968, campus. The incident involved two true revolutionaries, Abner "Hunchy" Carter and John Huggins.

Last week we shipped papers to our chapter in New York, on a Friday morning via United Air Lines, which takes at the most, eight hours. The pigs held our papers until this past Monday. That's only one example of the hell we receive from the pig power structure.

A newspaper can be used for many purposes. We use it primarily for two reasons to give political consciousness to the masses and as an organizing tool. We believe that you, the people, will gather together and organize. We must begin to understand that once the people see the validity of our program, it will be easier to organize. First we must begin to relate to concrete issues that are

very basic and practical for us. The new paper platform and program outlines the most practical necessities for us.

The pigs don't like for us to write about their prime leadership, namely: Thompson Marshall, Sam Bricke and Sam Karpis, which is only to name a few. It is impossible to be part of the solution and to collaborate with part of the problem. The racist doesn't want you to know about these individuals who sit in the afternoon with the pigs, while making deals with your life, as you get off to Miss Ann's kitchen. You see, we're going to expose all the Tom's for what they are and let you, the people, deal with them. Pigs are trying to scare us and they are not, as though to say, we can expose us with the United States. We're going to expose all the Tom's for what they are and let you, the people, deal with them. Pigs are trying to scare us and they are not, as though to say, we can expose us with the United States. We're going to expose all the Tom's for what they are and let you, the people, deal with them.

The pigs are so afraid that they use tactics to an attempt to destroy our circulation. They do this by having brothers with white faces wearing black masks to take, to physically take, our papers from some of our Panther stores while selling the papers in the black community.

There are some of the things black people need to know. The white man won't print the truth. Everything that the racist writes, is good for him, yet bad for us. He talks about the war in Vietnam, which is bad for us. He talks about money, which we don't receive. He gets all the benefits, which is good for him.

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The Minister of Defense of the Black Panther Party, Huey P. Newton and our Chairman Bobby Seale realized the importance and significance of our paper so much that they use to ride buses to sell our papers in the black community.

At this point, our paper has grown so large that it has put fear into the racist, imperialist pig power structure. And in conclusion The Black Panther Party and the black community with their consciousness being raised to that of a revolutionary principle will continue to stop all intimidation by racist power structure.

All Power to the People
Distribution Manager
Vincent Moore



JUDGE WILSON'S DECISION

...the judge's decision was a landmark in the history of the civil rights movement. It was a decision that would have far-reaching consequences for the future of the nation.

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REVOLUTION



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WANTED DEAD FOR MURDER



S.F. PIG MICHAEL O'BRIEN
4785 - 18th. STREET
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

OFF THE PIGS

More Panther Harassment

On the night of Jan. 20, 1969, Michael O'Brien and Michael Michael were arrested on charges of harassment.

Michael and Michael were arrested on charges of harassment. They were taken to the police station and held for questioning.

The police officers who arrested them were from the San Francisco Police Department. They were taken to the police station and held for questioning.

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Michael O'Brien
Michael O'Brien

KLAN KILLER CLEARED

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OCTOBER 1966 BLACK PANTHER PARTY PLATFORM AND PROGRAM

WHAT WE WANT

WHAT WE BELIEVE



1. We want freedom. We want freedom for the people of our Black community.

We believe that black people will not be free until we are able to determine our destiny.

2. We want full employment for our people.

We believe that the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every man employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that if the white American businessmen will not give full employment, then the means of production should be taken from the businessmen and placed in the community so that the people of the community can organize and employ all of its people and give a high standard of living.

3. We want an end to the robbery by the white man of our Black Community.

We believe that this racist government has robbed us and now we are demanding the overdue debt of forty acres and two mules. Forty acres and two mules was promised 100 years ago as restitution for slave labor and mass murder of black people. We will accept the payment in currency which will be distributed to our many communities. The Germans are now aiding the Jews in Israel for the genocide of the Jewish people. The Germans murdered six million Jews. The American racist has taken part in the slaughter of over fifty million black people; therefore, we feel that this is a modest demand that we make.

4. We want decent housing, fit for shelter of human beings.

We believe that if the white landlords will not give decent housing to our black community, then the housing and the land should be made into cooperatives so that our community, with government aid, can build and make decent housing for its people.

5. We want education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want education that teaches us our true history and our role in the present-day society.

We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If a man does not have knowledge of himself and his position in society and the world, then he has little chance to relate to anything else.

6. We want all black men to be exempt from military service.

We believe that Black people should not be forced to fight in the military service to defend a racist government that does not protect us. We will not fight and kill other people of color in the world who, like Black people, are being victimized by the white racist government of America. We will protect ourselves from the force and violence of the racist police and the racist army by whatever means necessary.

7. We want an immediate end to POLICE BRUTALITY and MURDER in our community.

We believe we can end police brutality in our black community by organizing black self-defense groups that are dedicated to defending our black community from racist police oppression and brutality. The Second Amendment to the Constitution of the United States gives a right to bear arms. We therefore believe that all black people should arm themselves for self defense.

8. We want freedom for all black men held in federal, state, county and city prisons and jails.

We believe that all black people should be released from the many jails and prisons because they have not received a fair and impartial trial.

9. We want all black people who brought to trial to be tried in court by a jury of their peer group or people from their Black communities, as defined by the Constitution of the United States.

We believe that the courts should follow the United States Constitution so that black people will receive fair trials. The 14th Amendment of the U.S. Constitution gives a man a right to be tried by his peer group. A peer is a person from a similar economic, social, religious, geographical, environmental, historical and racial background. To do this the court will be forced to select a jury from the black community from which the black defendant came. We have been, and are being tried by all-white juries that have no understanding of the "average reasoning man" of the black community.

10. We want land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice and peace. And as our major political objective, a United Nations supervised conference to be held throughout the Black galaxy in which only black political subjects will be allowed to participate. For the purpose of determining the will of black people as to their national destiny.

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. That, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety, liberty and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments, long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, assumes a despotic character, it is the right of the people to throw off such government, and to institute a new government.



FREE HUEY NOW GUNS BABY GUNS



HUEY NEWTON
MINISTER OF DEFENSE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY

THE BLACK PANTHER



BLACK COMMUNITY NEWS SERVICE
PUBLISHED WEEKLY
BY THE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY



EDITORIAL STAFF OF THE BLACK PANTHER

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Communications Secretary
KATHLEEN CLAWD

Minister of Culture
EMORY DOUGLAS

The editorial and production cost of THE BLACK PANTHER Newspaper have increased considerably. We would like to continue increasing weekly circulation and our national and international news coverage. To do this we need your aid. Please send us news items, general information, and contributions. Help us distribute and get new subscribers to the Black Panther newspaper. Submit to:

BLACK PANTHER NEWSPAPER
3106 SHATTUCK AVE.
BERKELEY, CALIF.

RULES OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

CENTRAL HEADQUARTERS
OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA..

Every member of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY throughout this country of United America must abide by these rules as functional members of this party. CENTRAL COMMITTEE members, CENTRAL STAFFS, and LOCAL STAFFS, including all captains subordinate to either national, state, and local leadership of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY will enforce these rules. Length of suspension or other disciplinary action necessary for violation of these rules will depend on national decisions by national, state or state area, and local committees and staffs where said rule or rules of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY were violated.

Every member of the party must know these verbatim by heart. And apply them daily. Each member must report any violation of these rules to their leadership or they are counter-revolutionary and are also subjected to suspension by the BLACK PANTHER PARTY.

THE RULES ARE:

1. No party member can have rattles or weed in his possession when doing party work.
2. Any party member found abusing rattles will be expelled from this party.
3. No party member can be DRUNK while doing daily party work.
4. No party member will violate rules relating to office work, general meetings of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY, and meetings of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY ANYWHERE.
5. No party member will USE, POINT, or FIBE a weapon of any kind unnecessarily or accidentally at anyone.
6. No party member can join any other army force other than the BLACK LIBERATION ARMY.
7. No party member can have a weapon in his possession while DRUNK or loaded off rattles or weed.
8. No party member will commit any crimes against other party members or BLACK people at all, and cannot steal or take from the people, not even a needle or a piece of thread.
9. When arrested BLACK PANTHER MEMBERS will give only name, address, and will sign nothing. Legal first aid must be understood by all Party members.
10. The Ten Point Program and platform of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY must be known and understood by each Party member.
11. Party Communications must be National and Local.
12. The 10-10-10 program should be known by all members and also understood by all members.
13. All finance officers will operate under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Finance.
14. Each person will submit a report of daily work.
15. Each sub-section, chapter, section, leader, lieutenant, and captain must submit daily reports of work.
16. All Panthers must learn to operate and service weapons correctly.
17. All leadership personnel who expect a member must submit this information to the Editor of the Newspaper so that it will be published in the paper and will be known by all chapters and branches.
18. Political Education Classes are mandatory for general membership.
19. Only other personnel assigned to respective offices each day should be there. All others are to sell papers and do Political work out in the community, including Captains, Section Leaders, etc.
20. COMMUNICATIONS — all chapters must submit weekly reports in writing to the National Headquarters.
21. All Branches must implement First Aid and/or Medical Centers.
22. All Chapters, Branches, and companies of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY must submit a monthly Financial Report to the Ministry of Finance, and also the Central Committee.
23. Everyone in a leadership position must read no less than two hours per day to keep abreast of the changing political situation.
24. No chapter or branch shall accept grants, poverty funds, money or any other aid from any government agency without contacting the National Headquarters.
25. All chapters must adhere to the policy and the ideology laid down by the CENTRAL COMMITTEE of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY.
26. All Branches must submit weekly reports in writing to their respective Chapters.

8 POINTS OF ATTENTION

- 1) Speak politely.
- 2) Pay fairly for what you buy.
- 3) Retain everything you borrow.
- 4) Pay for anything you damage.
- 5) Do not hit or swear at people.
- 6) Do not damage property or things of the poor, oppressed masses.
- 7) Do not take liberties with women.
- 8) If we ever have to take captives do not ill treat them.

3 MAIN RULES OF DISCIPLINE

- 1) Obey orders in all your actions.
- 2) Do not take a single needle or a piece of thread from the poor and oppressed masses.
- 3) Turn in everything captured from the attacking enemy.



SOUL ON ICE?

"IT IS ONLY A MATTER OF TIME UNTIL THE QUESTION OF THE PRISONER'S DEBT TO SOCIETY VERSUS SOCIETY'S DEBT TO THE

PRISONER IS INJECTED FORCEFULLY INTO NATIONAL AND STATE POLITICS, INTO THE CIVIL AND HUMAN RIGHTS STRUGGLE, AND INTO THE CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE BODY POLITIC. IT IS AN EXPLOSIVE ISSUE WHICH GOES TO THE VERY ROOT OF AMERICA'S SYSTEM OF JUSTICE. THE STRUCTURE OF CRIMINAL LAW, THE PREVAILING BELIEFS AND ATTITUDES TOWARD A CONVICTED FELON." (SQU. ON ICE, P.59)

Edwidge Cleaver made the decision to judicially rule June 18, November 27th, on the basis that the Adult Authority made an outlaw decision, and that he has been denied his constitutional right to due process of law.

The revocation of Cramer's parole was illegal, because no parole violation was committed.

The Adult Authority parole board has tried to maintain that Cleaver violated his parole by having a rifle in his possession, and by associating with individuals of bad reputation. This contention, we will show, is false. The Adult Authority version contradicts the Superior Court order itself:

"... Cleaver's only handling of a firearm (the rifle) was in obedience to a police command. He did not handle a hand gun at all. There was nothing one way or the other to show a conspiracy or a situation calling for the application of the doctrine of aiding and abetting. Hence, nothing supported either the possession of a firearm or the assault charge.

As to the charge of association with individuals of bad reputation, the report indicated that two or three of those named had "police records," but nothing to show whether any had been convicted of anything, or whether Cleaver knew of their arrest record" (Superior Court at 137, 138, 140, 141).

Payton Cleaver was denied due process of law by being denied opportunity to present his case.

Why was Cleaver returned to prison as a parole violator if documented evidence to the contrary had been presented in his defense? To answer that question, one must examine the Adult Authority. This board has the right to arbitrarily revoke or suspend parole on any individual. At the same time, the Adult Authority maintains—falsely—that Cleaver has the opportunity to defend himself at a hearing. This is how it works:

"A parolee is served with violation charges, is interviewed, is given a hearing (before the Adult Authority itself, the charging party) at which the parolee may 'plead' to the parole violation charges, and is afforded an opportunity to present his defense."

"At the 'hearing' a parolee is accorded the right to counsel, may rely on an independent and impartial officer to conduct the hearing and make decisions." (Petition for Hearing in the Supreme Court, p. 17)

Not only does the Adult Authority withhold secret hearings, but it also refuses to notify persons under its jurisdiction of its procedures, or of its variable definitions of what constitutes a parole violation. This secrecy and vagueness is in direct violation of federal law which requires agencies to publish their procedures "for guidance of the public."

"Petitioner (Cleave) is immediately and seriously prejudiced by the Adult Authority's unlawful refusal to publish its regulations, since he is to be imprisoned by virtue of an action which the Adult Authority still seeks to push in this 'veil of secrecy.' (Petition for Hearing in the Supreme Court, p. 12).

Yes, the Adult Authority acted unjustly and illegally. Its decision was an outrageous decision. Cleaver had no chance of obtaining "justice" from these Star Chamber proceedings. Why then wouldn't the U.S. Supreme Court hear Cleaver's case? There are, we believe, three reasons why the case wasn't accepted. The first is that any fair minded court would obviously have released Cleaver, thereby setting a precedent. The second is that thousands of cases of alleged parole violation from all over California and other states would be subject to reversal. Thirdly, the illegal functioning of the Adult Authority would come under attack. The U.S. Supreme Court just couldn't afford to consider the Cleaver case during this turbulent period.

Hilbridge Chamber is a victim of naked, channel's political pressure to him. As Judge Maguire puts it:

The uncontradicted evidence presented to this court indicated that the petitioner had been a model prisoner. The point to his parole status stemmed from no failure of personal rehabilitation, but from his undue eloquence in pursuing political goals, goals which were offensive to many of

his contemporaries. Not only was there absence of cause for the cancellation of parole, it was the product of a type of pressure mechanism, to say the least, to the law enforcement establishment of this state."

Cleaver is in political exile because a man of his convictions cannot get justice here. Indeed, if we are to give more than lip service to the concepts of freedom and justice we must support him. The work to get him discharged from prison must continue. An intensive publicity campaign is necessary now to bring to the public the legal defense and arguments which were carried to the courts with no satisfaction. We must all work together to focus attention of this case. This is not an issue of one man's freedom, but a broad struggle which affirms the right of all of us to speak out politically in this country. If Cleaver is not allowed his freedom, it is just a matter of time until all our freedoms are further reduced. His is not a personal struggle but a political one.

Keywords: child sexual abuse; disclosure; legal system

[illegible][illegible][illegible][illegible][illegible]

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Breakfast for School Children

OAKLAND, California -- The National Advisory Cabinet to the Black Panther Party is working with and for St. Augustine Episcopal Church's program: breakfast in the morning for Oakland's school children in the black community.

All children in grammar schools and growing young adults in Junior High Schools can receive free, FULL BREAKFASTS in the mornings before they go to school. The first of these breakfasts will exist one hour before school hours at St. Augustine's Church, 27th and West, and the Black Community Center, at 42nd and Grove Streets, EVERY SCHOOL MORNING.

The National Advisory Cabinet and church members are calling on all mothers and others who want to work with this revolutionary program of making sure that our young have full stomachs before going to school. The schools and the Board of Education should have had this program instituted a long time ago. How can our children learn anything when most of their stomachs are empty? Black people in the Black Community—mothers, welfare recipients, grandmothers, guardians, and others who are trying to raise children in the black community where racism oppresses us—are asked to come forth to work and support this needed program. Soul food, grits, omelets, bread, and meat for the stomachs is where it's at when it comes to properly preparing our children for education. LET'S DO IT NOW. Support this community program.

Those who want to volunteer their work every morning or every other morning can come to the BLACK PANTHER PARTY CENTRAL HEADQUARTERS at 3106 Shattuck Ave., Berkeley or contact Father Niel at these numbers: 534-6484, 833-1010. Interested persons may also contact Ruth Backford Smith at 843-8211 or sign up with other community people and citizens for full stomachs and better education of black children.

We urge as many mothers and other black citizens as possible to unite with this COMMUNITY-BLACK PANTHER PROGRAM. We are also asking all businesses throughout the black community to donate the necessary food and utensils to prepare the foods for our children. Call the Black Panther Office at 845-0103 or 845-0104. Everything of value donated to BREAKFAST FOR CHILDREN is tax deductible. Items or funds may be sent c/o St. Augustine Episcopal Church. Just let us know, both black and white communities and citizens, what you can donate in money, time, etc.

Thank you

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POCKET LAWYER OF LEGAL FIRST AID

This pocket lawyer is provided as a means of keeping black people up to date on their rights. We are always the first to be arrested and the racist police forces are constantly trying to pretend that rights are extended equally to all people. Cut this out, brothers and sisters, and carry it with you. Until we arm ourselves to righteously take care of our own, the pocket lawyer is what's happening.

1. If you are stopped and/or arrested by the police, you may remain silent; you do not have to answer any questions about alleged crimes, you should provide your name and address only if requested (although it is not absolutely clear that you must do so.) But then do so, and at all time remember the fifth amendment.

2. If a police officer is not in uniform, ask him to show his identification. He has no authority over you unless he properly identifies himself. Beware of persons posing as police officers. Always get his badge number and his name.

3. Police have no right to search your car or your home unless they have a search warrant, probable cause or your consent. They may conduct no exploratory search, that is, one for evidence of crime generally or for evidence of a crime unconnected with the one you are being questioned about. (Thus, a stop for an auto violation does not give the right to search the auto.) You are not required to consent to a search; therefore, you should not consent and should state clearly and unequivocally that you do not consent, in front of witnesses if possible. If you do not consent, the police will have the burden in court of showing probable cause. Arrest may be corrected later.

4. You may not resist arrest forcibly or by going limp, even if you are innocent. To do so is a separate crime of which you can be convicted even if you are acquitted of the original charge. Do not resist arrest under any circumstances.

5. If you are stopped and/or arrested, the police may search you by patting you on the outside of your clothing. You can be stripped of your personal possessions. Do not carry anything that includes the name of your employer or friends.

7. Do not engage in "friendly" conversation with officers on the way to or at the station. Once you are arrested, there is little likelihood that anything you say will get you released.

8. As soon as you have been booked, you have the right to complete at least two phone calls—one to a relative, friend or attorney, the other to a bail bondsman. If you can, call the Black Panther Party, 845-0103 (845-0104), and the Party will post bail if possible.

9. You must be allowed to hire and see an attorney immediately.

10. You do not have to give any statement to the police, nor do you have to sign any statement you might give them, and therefore you should not sign anything. Take the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments, because you cannot be forced to testify against yourself.

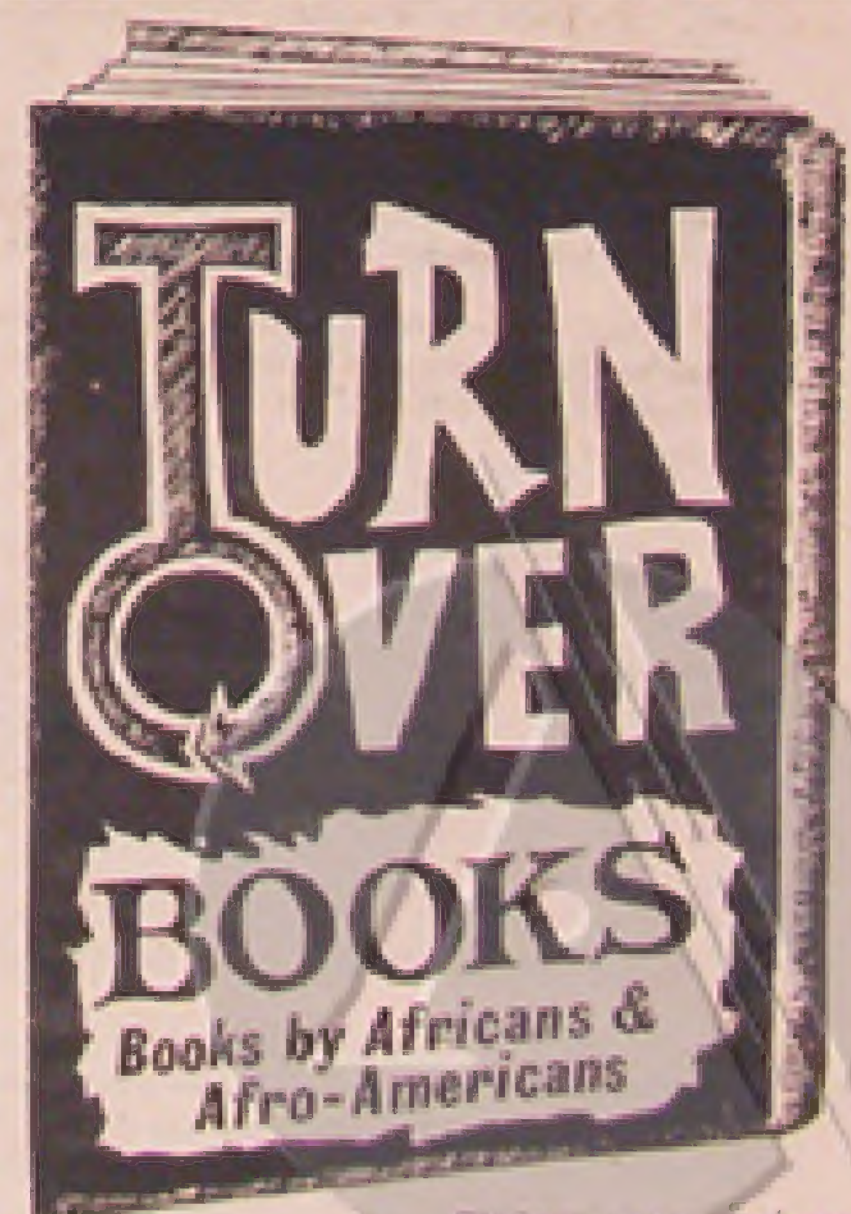
11. You must be allowed to post bail in most cases, but you must be able to pay the bail bondsman's fee. If you cannot pay the fee, you may ask the judge to release you from custody without bail or to lower your bail, but he does not have to do so.

12. The police must bring you into court or release you within 48 hours after your arrest (unless the time elaps on a week-end or a holiday, and they must bring you before a judge the first day court is in session.)

13. If you do not have the money to hire an attorney, immediately ask the police to get you an attorney without charge.

14. If you have the money to hire a private attorney, but do not know of one, call the National Lawyers' Guild or the Alameda County Bar Association (or the Bar Association of your county) and furnish you with the name of an attorney who practices criminal law.

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10 POINT PROGRAM AND PLATFORM OF THE BLACK STUDENT UNIONS

We want an education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want an education that teaches us our true history and role in the present day society.

We believe in an educational system that will give our people a knowledge of self. If a man does not have knowledge of himself and his position in society and the world, then he has little chance to relate to anything else.

1. WE WANT FREEDOM. WE WANT POWER TO DETERMINE THE DESTINY OF OUR SCHOOL.

We believe that we will not be free within the schools to get a decent education unless we are able to have a say and determine the type of education that will affect and determine the destiny of our people.

2. WE WANT FULL ENROLLMENT IN THE SCHOOLS FOR OUR PEOPLE.

We believe that the city and federal government is responsible and obligated to give every man a decent education.

3. WE WANT AN END TO THE ROBBERY BY THE WHITE MAN OF OUR BLACK COMMUNITY.

We believe that this racist government has robbed us of an education. We believe that this racist capitalist government has robbed the Black Community of its money by forcing us to pay higher taxes for less quality.

4. WE WANT DECENT EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES, FIT FOR THE USE OF STUDENTS.

We believe that if these businessmen will not give decent facilities to our community schools, then the schools and their facilities should be taken out of the hands of these few individual racists and placed into the hands of the community, with government aid, so the community can develop a decent and suitable educational system.

5. WE WANT AN EDUCATION FOR OUR PEOPLE THAT TEACHES US HOW TO SURVIVE IN THE PRESENT DAY SOCIETY.

We believe that if the educational system does not teach us how to survive in society and the world it loses its meaning for existence.

6. WE WANT ALL RACIST TEACHERS TO BE EXCLUDED AND RESTRICTED FROM ALL PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

We believe that if the teacher in a school is acting in racist fashion then that teacher is not interested in the welfare or development of the students but only in their destruction.

7. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO POLICE BRUTALITY AND MURDER OF BLACK PEOPLE. WE WANT ALL POLICE AND SPECIAL AGENTS TO BE EXCLUDED AND RESTRICTED FROM SCHOOL PREMISES.

We believe that there should be an end to harassment by the police department of Black people. We believe that if all of the police were pulled out of the schools, the schools would become more functional.

8. WE WANT ALL STUDENTS THAT HAVE BEEN EXEMPT, EXPELLED, OR SUSPENDED FROM SCHOOL TO BE REINSTATED.

We believe all students should be reinstated because they haven't received fair and impartial judgment or have been put out because of incidents or situations that have occurred outside of the schools authority.

9. WE WANT ALL STUDENTS WHEN BROUGHT TO TRIAL TO BE TRIED IN STUDENT COURT BY A JURY OF THEIR PEER GROUP OR STUDENTS OF THEIR SCHOOL.

We believe that the student courts should follow the United States Constitution so that students can receive a fair trial. The 14th Amendment of the U.S. Constitution gives a man a right to be tried by a jury of his peer group. A peer is a person from a similar economical, social, religious, geographical, environmental, historical and racial background. To do this the court would be forced to select a jury of students from the community from which the defendant came. We have been and are being tried by a white principal, vice-principal, and white students that have no understanding of the "average reasoning man" of the Black Community.

10. WE WANT POWER, ENROLLMENT, EQUIPMENT, EDUCATION, TEACHERS, JUSTICE, AND PEACE.

As our major political objective, an assembly for the student body, in which only the students will be allowed to participate, for the purpose of determining the will of the students as to the school's destiny.

We hold these truths as being self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. To secure these rights within the schools, governments are instituted among the students, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, that whenever any form of student government becomes destructive to these ends, it is the right of the students to alter or abolish it and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its power in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.

Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes, and accordingly all experiences have shown, that mankind are more liable to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and force, pursuing invariably the same object, reveals a design to reduce them to absolute destruction, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such a government and to provide new guards for their future security.

"IMPORTANT" BLACK STUDENT UNIONS

The BLACK STUDENTS UNIONS have formed a state wide Union of B.S.U.'s, and are in the process of organizing on a national level. We call upon all BLACK STUDENTS to unite.

If your BLACK STUDENTS UNION hasn't become a member of this UNION of BLACK STUDENTS UNIONS send a letter or telegram giving information about your B.S.U. and the conditions that exist within your area. Become a part of a united movement of B.S.U.'s and stop moving on an individual bases. Together we will become the most effective organization on this earth; divided we are weak.

Send your letter to:

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3106 SHATTUCK ST.
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

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and Those Who
Know Huey. With
an introduction by
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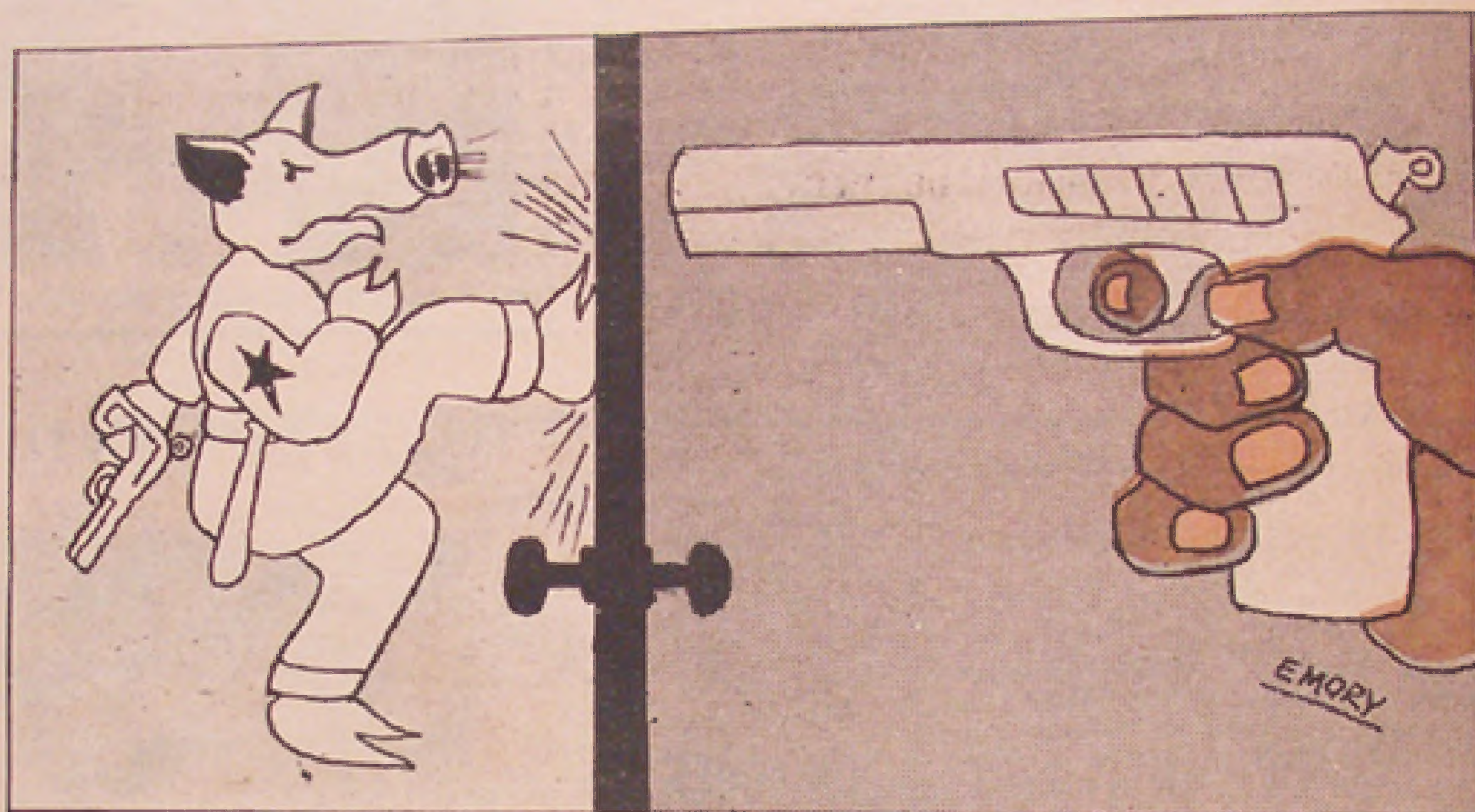
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